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Cowbirds, Locals, and the Dynamic Endurance of Regionalism

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Regional cultures, far from atrophying in the face of national and global cultural circuits, are both enduring and reproducing themselves. This is not just due to locals holding fast to their traditions but to cosmopolitans becoming knowledgeable about the culture of place as part of their ongoing identity construction. Results from Survey2000, an online survey conducted by the National Geographic Society, show the processes that are maintaining and even increasing the cultural distinctiveness of American regions as indicated by residents' knowledge of local literature. One such process involves what we call cultural "cowbirds," people new to a region who catch up with the natives' local cultural knowledge.

Does regional culture still exist in America? Can it withstand both the movement of people and the pressures toward homogenized sights, sounds, tastes, and experiences? If regional culture endures in a dynamic social context, what processes maintain or recreate it?

To gain some empirical purchase on these broad questions requires research on specific forms of regional culture and specific aspects of contemporary social dynamics. This article looks at the relationship between regional literary culture on the one hand and residential mobility on the other. Regional literature is just one form of place-based cultural expression, of course; regional food, dialect, and music are others, and they affect more people. Literature impacts the culturally influential "reading

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class," however, thereby magnifying its influence (Griswold 2001). Similarly, residential mobility is just one element of the dynamics characteristic of postmodern, global societies. But it is a significant element, and it is not disappearing. In the last half of the 20th century, American residential mobility—specifically the percentage of natives born in states other than their current state of residence—steadily increased.[2] Therefore it offers a good measure of the more general social dynamics that might be threatening regional cultures.

After considering sociology's newly intense interest in "place," this article defines its object of analysis, regional literature as represented by authors associated with particular states. Next it describes Survey2000, an Internet survey that provided the opportunity to get detailed data both on Americans' literary tastes and knowledge and on their mobility patterns. The article sets out some findings with respect to literary regionalism, the cultural characteristics of mobile versus nonmobile people, and the relationship between mobility and regionalism. We find that literary regionalism is persisting, and that mobility itself is helping to reproduce it through the "cowbirds" who move into a region and catch up with those born there in terms of their local cultural knowledge. The conclusion argues that a dynamic social context, far from chipping away at enduring regionalism, actually produces it.

THE DEBATE OVER THE ROLE OF PLACE IN CONTEMPORARY LIFE

Marx famously noted that time was annihilating space in the modern era. He seemed to have two ideas in mind: distances no longer mattered given the technological advances in communication and transportation, and industrial capitalism had reduced places to the same cash nexus as everything else. During the 1980s many observers, following the same logic, were arguing that technology and globalization were rendering geography irrelevant (Meyrowitz 1985).[3] People increasingly had "no sense of place."

[2] In 1950 68% of the total population was born in the state of current residence; this figure dropped to 67% in 1960, 65% in 1970, 64% in 1980, and 62% in 1990. The difference is not due to an increase in the foreign-born population, which went down (from 6.9% in 1950 to 4.8% in 1970) and then up (to 7.9% in 1990). The native population's mobility steadily increased as well; in 1950 27% lived in a state other than their birth state, and this figure rose to 33% in 1990 (U.S. Census Bureau 2000).

[3] Two of the most influential statements of the decline of place were Meyrowitz's (1985) "no sense of place" thesis and Haraway's (1991) vivid portrait of disembodied "cyborgs." The general thinking was that late modernity was producing a transition from local culture to global culture. In the "before" condition—before the flows of goods, information, finance, and labor washed over the globe—culture expressed the social and

"Place" has come roaring back, however; at the beginning of the 21st century, sociologists and the sociologically inclined seem fascinated with space and place (Gieryn 2000; Tickamyer 2000). Much of the sociological literature draws on theoretical advances made in other disciplines, especially geography, urban studies, and cultural studies. Two lines of thought from this vast body of work are especially significant for sociology, and both begin with the historical consideration of capitalism and space. The first is the encounter between Marxian and postmodernist theory. David Harvey raised the issue in *The Condition of Postmodernity* (1990), in which he both inserted geography into critical theory and excoriated postmodernist cultural theorists for ignoring the human consequences of the play of signifiers that they celebrated. Harvey has analyzed both the political economy of place—for example, global capital's mobility in terms of both production and consumption; the construction of new places to absorb excess capital—and the apparent human need for spatial grounding that prompts the construction of "place" (see also Harvey 1993). Responding to Harvey and other theorists of capitalism and space, Doreen Massey has pointed to a "power geometry" in which different groups—especially men versus women—are situated differently with respect to capitalism's various flows of labor and finance (Massey 1993, 1984; for other discussions of the relationship between space and gender, see also Spain 1992; Hochschild 1997; for power generally, see Zukin 1991).

The second line of thought involves globalization, specifically the flows of people, money, and cultural objects during the colonial and postcolonial eras. If the nation building and colonizing project of the 19th century was one of imagining communities (Anderson 1991), postcolonial theorists such as Homi Bhabha have argued that colonialism itself created new

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economic experience of a particular place. Jurisdictional boundaries, especially those of the state, and clearly demarcated markets ratified and hemmed in such situated cultures, just as the placement of the body constrained human action. In the "after" condition, markets were global, state boundaries were porous, people were virtual as well as frequent fliers, and cultures soared about on electronic wings, mixing and mingling in cyberspace. Within such a global culture, there would be "no sense of place" (Meyrowitz 1985). Culturally speaking, this transition to "the global" recalled the supposed transition from provincial to cosmopolitan that was much talked of during the heyday of modernization theory. "Cosmopolitan" refers to a person, one at home everywhere. "Global" refers to a network of freely flowing conduits, as in global economy. People move, cultural objects move, and everywhere is pretty much like everywhere else because of the flows and interactions within the system. As the hydraulic imagery suggests, both intermixing and leveling take place, thereby bringing about the eradication of difference. This has been the cultural bugaboo for decades. Early versions had Western imperialism imposing its Coke and Levis on a hapless international clientele. Recent imagery sees the clientele as rational actors choosing their poison, but the basic thrust is still toward homogeneity, with global citizens washing down their sushi with Coke.

spaces—neither the imperial metropolitan space of the colonizer nor the traditional social space of the colonized but new hybrids—which now characterize the postcolonial world (see Bhabha 1994, esp. chap. 6, where Bhabha points out how print was both agent and symptom of this separating process). Optimists see these new formations as creating a flexible and cosmopolitan localism with the capacity for "empathetic sociality" (Maffesoli 1996), while pessimists point out that the new, globally supported localism can be as divisive as the old provincialism (Lash and Urry 1994, see esp. chap. 11; Castells 1989; Glaeser 2000). For the present study the point is that new localisms, including but not limited to those borne by cultural objects, are produced by the flows characteristic of the late modern/postmodern era.

Research on inequalities, on cultural identity, on social and economic change, and on the cultural changes brought about by electronic media, globalization, and postmodernity have made the common discovery that space and place "matter" more than was once thought. Most of the empirical work to date has involved spatial influences either on social action, especially action relating to the reproduction of inequality (e.g., Stier and Tienda 2001; Sampson and Raudenbush 1999; Massey and Denton 1994; Spain 1992) or on economic development (e.g., Sorenson and Audia 2000; Dobbin 1994). A second research domain focuses more on place, generally understood as space made meaningful. "Place studies," to label this emerging field, either examine the types of social interactions that occur in a specific type of place (Duneier 1999; Duncan 1999) or problematize the construction of place itself (Friedland and Hecht 1996; Friedland and Boden 1994; see also the work of folklorist Kent Ryden [1993]; for the role of place in studies of music scenes, see Bennett [2000]).[4] This revival justifies the research of John Shelton Reed, who almost single-handedly kept regional studies in sociology alive over the lean decades of the 1970s and 1980s ([1972] 1986).[5] While the present article makes reference to certain cultural inequalities, its investigations are within the place studies school and especially with that branch concerned with the reproduction—or not—of place-specific culture.

Sociologists and anthropologists have found that the culture of place, the influence of local social patterns and interpretations, is more robust than earlier theories had imagined. Even the most standardized products of global capitalism get localized in practice, as when elderly Chinese women transform fast food into slow food as they pass the day in the

[4] We are grateful to Richard A. Peterson for drawing our attention to Bennett's work.

[5] Our title echoes (and acknowledges the importance of) Reed's ([1972] 1986) study of America's most familiar regional culture, *The Enduring South*. Reed himself is following the pathbreaking tradition of Odum and Moore's (1938) work in the 1930s.

safety of McDonald's while waiting to pick up their grandchildren from school (Watson 1997).[6] The global does not inevitably drive out or eclipse the local; on the contrary, research often shows local cultures rejecting, absorbing, or refashioning external inputs (Hannerz 1992). Contemporary cultural change is less a transition from "now here" to "nowhere" and more one of a mixing of global and local cultural elements into new formations.[7]

The question is, What cultural formations survive or emerge when the forces of global culture come bearing down on local cultures? If the local is not obliterated, is it transformed? How, and how consistently? Years ago Raymond Williams (1977) distinguished among four types of culture: dominant, alternative, residual, and emergent. Localism would typically be understood as residual that perhaps becomes alternative under mass media domination (as Williams, himself a provincial, would have suspected). But could new forms of localism be, in fact, emergent?

Few doubt the impact of the global cultural economy, whose various circuits—of people, of ideas, of technology, of goods and finance, of media—Arjun Appadurai (1990) dissected over a decade ago, or that of the even more recent revolution in time/space brought about by the Internet. Now that it seems clear that neither global culture nor the Internet is simply going to erase everything in its path, scholars have identified three processes to capture what was taking place. One focuses on *world culture*, drawing attention to the emergence of cultural forms—like the nation-state (Anderson 1991) or three-tier education (Meyer et al. 1997)—that set a pattern on a global scale, thereby becoming unavoidable and generating imitation and institutional homology. Local culture is whatever is left, a pure case of Williams's residual culture. A second view, *localization*, emphasizes how the local resists, absorbs, and ultimately transforms the global (Watson 1997; Fiske 1989). Human beings convert mass cultural products into vehicles of intense local significance (youth gangs appropriate designer clothing), routine practice (Chinese grandmothers convert fast food into slow food), or even counterhegemonic resistance (housewives use romance novels to demand some free time [Radway (1984) 1991]). And the third process is that of *hybridization*, whose advocates

[6] Like all such sociological dichotomies, the distinction between global and local, between no sense of place and firm emplacement, was both useful and overdrawn. Even road warriors go home now and then; even technological wizards colonize a geographic patch (Redmond, Wash., or Silicon Valley); even those rendered homeless by international conflict or labor market shifts stake out territory; even wired communities occupy space somewhere (Hampton and Wellman 1999).

[7] The play on words comes from Friedland and Boden (1994), which is one of the more useful collections representing the renewed attention sociologists are paying to spatial and temporal issues.

maintain that the global swirl does not just offer up a salad of cultural variation on a single plate, as some multiculturalists have envisioned, but instead produces innovations, cultural hybrids (Bhabha 1994; Hannerz 1992). While some see these hybrids as liberating (Maffesoli 1996) and others see them as just further commodification of experience (Zukin 1991), all agree that they are something new.

No doubt all of these globalization processes are taking place, and to view them in terms of change versus stability would be misleading. Cultural persistence itself (or the appearance thereof) is such a process, one that similarly resists dichotomization. The persistence of regional culture is not simply residual, something which has successfully defied change. Instead, it is in large part emergent, for the very movement of people and of cultural objects helps produce this persistence of local cultural patterns. In other words, this article will argue that regional culture, like other forms of localism, is not opposed to but is characteristic of global culture.

REGIONAL LITERATURE

The cultural complexity of today's world involves the movement of ideas, images, goods, money, and people. In this article we are looking at the last of these; specifically, we are looking at residential mobility. We are trying to establish if local cultures persist and are asking whether or not mobility affects people's knowledge of their local culture. We are not treating other, hugely influential, aspects of globalization such as the growth of electronic media or changes in transportation, which are constants for our purposes.

The cultural object of analysis is regional literature. The adjective *regional*, defined as "of or relating to a region of a country," may be attached to a literary work or to an author.[8] In this case we are defining regional literature by author: regional literature is the writing of authors who are strongly associated with particular places.[9] Many of America's most prominent writers—Faulkner, Steinbeck, Thoreau—have been regionalists in this sense. Our definition is author-specific, not work-specific. Regional

[8] *Webster's Third New International Dictionary*, s.v. "regional."

[9] In this paper *regional* and *local* are used interchangeably, both indicating an association with a particular place. In many contexts *regional* refers to a broader geographic area than *local* does (e.g., the Great Plains is a region, while the history of a town in the Great Plains is local history). In the case of commercial cultural objects such as print literature, however, little can be said to be local in the sense of referring to a particular town or narrowly demarcated place. Moreover, place-connected literature has long been referred to as regional literature or regionalism, so we are following conventional usage in this regard.

authors do not always write about their regions (though they often do), but nevertheless their regions claim them.

Do such claims matter? Regional practices in the consumption of literature offers a good case through which to examine the question of whether cultural localism is or is not disappearing. Print culture has always been associated with breaking down provincialism (Eisenstein 1979). More recently, book sales through Amazon.com served as an early warning system for the coming of e-commerce. And readers are generally an educated and cosmopolitan lot. So if neither the supply of nor the demand for literature is constrained by geography, the presence of a geographic influence on literary knowledge and tastes would seem to indicate some persistent or emergent cultural regionalism.

Asking the following questions about the current state of literary regionalism, and about the reading practices of people who move around versus people who stay in place, allows one to examine some of the processes whereby the global and the local, the cosmopolitan and the provincial, interact.

1. Is there a recognized regional literary culture? Specifically, do people know about and read the writers from the region in which they live, or is there "no sense of place" in people's literary preferences?

2. What is the relationship between geographic mobility and cultural participation, here measured by familiarity with a wide variety of canonical and popular authors?

3. What is the relationship between geographic mobility and literary regionalism, measured by familiarity with authors associated with the region of the reader's current residence?

Answers to these three questions will suggest patterns of regional cultural engagement that may be emerging in a highly mobile society. We are interested both in the cultural participation of mobile people and in the fate of regional literary culture in general, particularly given what Giddens calls the "distanciation" between cultural forms of identification and geographical place that many see as characteristic of late modernity (Giddens 1990). An unusual survey allowed us to explore these questions in some detail.

SURVEY2000

Our data come from Survey2000, an online survey conducted by the National Geographic Society, with sociologist Jim Witte as the principal investigator. Of the 40,620 adults from the United States who started the survey, 81% completed the base survey and at least one randomly assigned cultural module (on literature, music, or food), even though doing so

typically took them an hour or more.[10] Thus the survey, which was online for two months in the fall of 1998, has an unusually high number of respondents.[11] The data analyzed for this article consisted of those 22,579 respondents who (1) are currently living in the United States and (2) completed the literature module in its entirety. These people—Internet users, comfortable with answering questions about literature—are largely members of the reading class, people who routinely and comfortably read for both work and leisure. (We also want to note that since most people would assume that the cosmopolitan "reading class" is less provincial, less regionally oriented than nonreaders, the Survey2000 respondents offer data that might even seem to be stacked against our hypothesis of continuing cultural regionalism.)[12]

[10] A large and disproportionate amount of the 19% attrition rate occurred during the first two weeks of the survey, when the survey was hosted by a server that was much slower than anticipated. When it was replaced by a faster host server, the attrition rate became very small and remained small for the rest of the survey's time online.

[11] The NGS Web site is well designed, regularly maintained, and attracts approximately 1.5 million "hits" per month. During the two-month period of data collection, a link to the survey was placed on the NGS home page. References to the survey site were also published in the NGS's adult and children periodicals, and advertising spots ran several times at the end of National Geographic television broadcasts. Beyond the direct use of NGS media, extensive use of NGS public relations and community outreach resources extended survey coverage. Publicity was generated over listservs and through articles in several magazines and newspapers. For example, over a two-day period in which *HotWired Magazine* provided a direct link to the survey some 2,600 surveys were initiated, though on average 430 surveys were initiated on each day of the life of the survey. Outreach efforts were made to gain participation among individuals who were not already online and among those who did not fit the profile of the typical National Geographic Web site visitor. These efforts were targeted at groups and organizations that represent individuals who were presumed to be less likely to be Web users (e.g., rural networks, inner-city halfway houses, senior citizens' centers, and homebound assistance programs). This effort was directed to over 300 groups, and a number of these groups put direct links to the survey site on their own Web sites. In addition, over 200 elementary school teachers at a summer geography curriculum workshop (at least two from each state and each Canadian province) served as a pretest group and were encouraged to use the survey as a means to introduce the students and parents to the Web. These teachers were provided with curriculum materials and access to an online advice forum. As a measure of the success of this effort, 432 of the North American adult respondents indicated that completing Survey2000 was the first time that they had used the Internet. Preliminary analyses of respondents' host names also indicate clustering of responses at particular addresses (including corporate workplaces), indicating a certain snowball character to the sample. Exactly how individual respondents came to participate in Survey2000 is unknown; however, for Survey2001, a followup study also hosted on the NGS offers some insights as it used a technology that was able to track a respondent's path to the survey. Survey2001 used similar respondent recruitment efforts, and approximately one-third of the respondents linked from somewhere other than the NGS page (Witte, Amoroso, and Howard 2000).

[12] Again we are indebted to Richard A. Peterson for pointing this out.

Interpreting any Internet survey demands that we consider the question of how representative such a survey can be. Survey2000 respondents by no means constitute a random sample of the American population, yet this does not mean that the survey cannot yield "representative" social science data. Traditional survey methodologies typically emphasize randomness as a means to achieve representativeness. The advantage of random sampling is the ability to quantify the extent to which the survey does *not* represent the population. However, random samples are not always practical or even achievable, and many forms of social science research, including comparative and historical inquiries, ethnographies, focus groups, and targeted snowball and convenience sample surveys, have relied on approaches to representativeness and generalizability that did not begin with a random selection of subjects (Witte and Howard 2002; Cook 2000). So while Survey2000 cannot match the claims made by random surveys in terms of the ability to quantify the confidence with which it does not represent the population as a whole, there are still reasons to believe it can tell us important things about the social world.

Cook and Campbell (1979) have outlined an approach to generalizability that stands in contrast to the traditionally understood random sampling model and serves as a methodological guide to our interpretations of Survey2000. Under this "quasi-experimental" Proximal Similarity Model, results are not generated from a random sample of a targeted population. Instead, this model identifies different generalizability contexts and relies on theoretically informed judgments as to which contexts are more like the study at hand and which are less so. Since we cannot quantify with certainty the nonrepresentativeness of Survey2000 with regard to the U.S. population as a whole, we make theoretical claims regarding which populations are likely to be more or less similar to Survey2000 respondents. According to Cook and Campbell's Proximal Similarity Model, the results of our survey should be generalizable (though not in a way that can be quantified definitively) to those persons, places, and times that are most like (proximally similar to) our respondents. With this aim in mind, Survey2000 explicitly incorporated measures from the General Social Survey and other sources to identify how similar our respondents are to more traditional random surveys of a targeted population.[13]

Table 1 compares the demographic profile of those adult (age 16 and

[13] While the discussion below refers only to demographic categories, the survey also used measures of attitudes and values regarding community, the Internet, and cultural preferences to measure the gradient of similarity to other random surveys. For a more detailed discussion of Survey2000 in terms of methodology and issues of representativeness, see Witte et al. (2000), Witte and Howard (2002), and Witte (2003).

TABLE 1
DEMOGRAPHICS OF SURVEY2000 ADULTS COMPARED WITH THE GENERAL SOCIAL SURVEY (1998) AND THE U.S. POPULATION (2000)

	SURVEY2000		GENERAL SOCIAL SURVEY		
VARIABLE	All Respondents	College +	All Respondents	College +	2000 CENSUS
Sex:					
Male	49.6	50.4	43.5	47.0	49.1
Female	50.4	49.6	56.5	53.0	50.9
Median age (years)*	38	39	42	43	35.3
Race:					
White	95.4	95.8	79.1	87.4	75.1
Black	1.3	1.1	14.1	6.6	12.3
Other	3.3	3.1	6.7	6.0	13.9
Education:†					
Less than high school degree	3.7	. . .	15.2	. . .	18.4
High school degree	32.0	. . .	53.2	. . .	50.0
Associate's degree	7.5	. . .	7.4	. . .	6.5
Bachelor's degree	33.2	58.4	16.9	70.0	16.1
Graduate degree	23.6	41.6	7.3	30.0	9.0
Region:					
New England	6.2	6.6	5.0	6.6	4.9
Middle Atlantic	10.4	10.6	15.1	15.1	14.1
East North Central	14.3	14.4	17.4	14.8	16.0
West North Central	6.2	5.9	7.2	5.1	6.8
South Atlantic	20.2	21.4	18.8	16.5	18.4
East South Central	4.4	4.3	6.7	4.0	6.0
West South Central	9.3	8.6	10.6	11.7	11.2
Mountain	8.8	8.6	6.6	8.5	6.5
Pacific	18.7	18.3	12.6	17.7	15.3
Alaska	.9	.8			.2
Hawaii	.6	.5			.4
N	22,579		2,832		

NOTE.—Values are percentages except where indicated otherwise. Data are drawn from the U.S. Census Bureau's *Profiles of General Demographic Characteristics: 2000 Census of Population and Housing, United States* and *Census 2000 Supplementary Survey Summary Tables* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce, Economics and Statistical Administration, Bureau of the Census), both authored in May 2001 by Donald L. Evans, J. Lee Price, and William G. Barron, Jr.

* Survey2000 respondents were age 16 and over; younger children completed a different version of the survey. The General Social Survey includes adults 18 and over. The census average is for the entire population.

† The census educational data are for adults 25 and over.

above) Survey2000 respondents who completed all the survey items relevant to our interests with that of the 1998 GSS and of the population in general. It indicates that the Survey2000 respondents who filled out the literature module are a bit younger and much whiter than the population as a whole or than the GSS respondents. They are also much more highly educated (and, given their self selection, they also are likely to be more comfortable with computers, though significant attempts were

made to reach respondents who were not regular computer users, and over 400 North American adult respondents indicated that filling out this survey was the first time they had ever used the Internet). For many types of sociological investigation these various biases would constitute a major problem. Here, however, the focus is on literary knowledge and our desired generalizability context is what Griswold (2001) has called "the reading class," so given the strong association between education and reading, the selection biases evident in our surveyed population work in our favor. We believe that the U.S. adult respondents who completed the Survey2000 literature module, though not representative of the U.S. population as a whole, have the characteristics—highly educated, young, cosmopolitan, electronically and socially connected—that are similar to the population of U.S. adults who engage the literary world. Therefore the data Survey2000 gives us is the best of its kind at present in terms of learning about this "reading class," as well as answering the questions we have in mind.[14] In order to better ensure this proximal similarity, the analyses we present in this article are further limited to those 12,743 respondents who had completed at least a four-year college degree,[15] and table 1 describes this subset of respondents as well.

Finally with regard to methodological issues, the bulk of our findings hinge on internal comparisons between large subgroups of respondents (e.g., persons living in different census regions and people who have moved away from their region of origin vs. people who have stayed in their region). Although there are certain to be some unknown selection biases to our respondents, there is no reason to believe that these biases are in any way correlated with the subgroupings by which we make comparisons. Bainbridge (1999) has argued that this feature is a particular strength of Survey2000 and again allows the findings to be indicative of patterns that are likely to exist among those in the U.S. population most likely to resemble our respondents, namely the reading class in which we are interested.

One of the purposes of Survey2000 was to examine the differences between people who move around a lot and those who stay in place. The National Geographic Society had in mind comparing the community attachments of the two groups, and a number of cultural sociologists were interested in seeing if and how mobility affected people's cultural partic-

[14] Furthermore, because of the complicated nature of this survey, which utilized complex skip patterns and which was customized to respondents based on where they lived at various points in their lives and other characteristics, this data could not have been generated using traditional random sampling procedures reliant upon telephone and face-to-face surveys.

[15] All analyses were also conducted using all respondents and controlling for education, with no substantive differences in the findings.

ipation.[16] Respondents were asked where they lived at birth and at seven-year intervals up to and including their current residence. The authors of this article have defined "movers" versus "stayers" by comparing respondents' region of current residence with region of birth; for movers the two were different, while for stayers they were the same.

Survey2000 asked a set of questions about regional culture, involving food, music, and literature.[17] In the case of literature, respondents who got this module were presented with the names of 28 authors. Up to four of these were authors from or strongly associated with the state of the respondent's birth, four from where they lived at age 14, four at their residence at 21, four from the state of current residence, and four from some random other state in which the respondent had lived.[18] In addition to these, respondents saw four names from a list of "General Authors," writers who are well known but not strongly associated with any one state, and the rest were randomly drawn from the entire list of authors. For each author respondents indicated whether they had ever heard of the author, whether they had read anything by that author, and whether they had recommended that author to others. The mean of these cumulated answers, which respondents indicated on a 0–3 scale, constituted the recognition score for each author. Tables A1, A2, and A3 in appendix A list the general authors and the authors associated with each state in each census region and with Canadian provinces.

We used multiple methods to identify authors "strongly identified" with a state: consultation with various literature professors, perusal of the

[16] Community attachment is being examined by Barry Wellman and Keith Hampton (both at Toronto) and by Jim Witte at Clemson University. Cultural participation is being studied by William S. Bainbridge (National Science Foundation), Bonnie Erickson (Toronto), Richard A. Peterson (Vanderbilt), and Bethany Bryson (Virginia), as well as by the authors of this article.

[17] Each respondent was presented one of the three culture modules—food, music, or literature. After answering those questions, respondents were asked if they wanted to go on to the other modules. Of the 40,420 respondents who started the survey, 80.6% completed the entire base survey plus at least one of the culture modules and 49.6% completed all three of the culture modules. There were 22,579 respondents who completed the base survey plus the entire literature module. These respondents make up our sample, though we further limited them to those with at least a bachelor's degree.

[18] This procedure could yield a total of 20 different names. Usually it produced fewer than 20 names, however, for two reasons. First, not all states had four or more authors associated with the state. If a state had more than four authors, the four were selected randomly; if the state had four or fewer, each was used. The list of authors appears in app. A, table A2. The second reason that fewer than 20 names might have been generated is that generating the maximum number of names would mean (1) that the respondent was over 21 and (2) that he or she lived in at least five different states, one at birth, one at 14, one at 21, one currently, and a fifth at some other point in his or her life. The first of these conditions was not always the case, and the second one rarely was.

courses on regional literature offered at state universities, bookstores, anthologies, and reference sources, including *The Oxford Companion to American Literature* (Hart 1983), *The Oxford Illustrated Literary Guide to the United States* (Ehrlich and Carruth 1982), *Encyclopedia of Frontier and Western Fiction* (Tuska and Piekarski 1983), and the *Encyclopedia of Southern Culture* (Wilson and Ferris 1989). We used general anthologies such as *The Local Colorists: American Short Stories, 1957–1900* (Simpson 1960) and the *Norton Anthology of Literature by Women* (Gilbert and Gubar 1985). We also looked at regional and state anthologies such as *The Literature of the American South* (Andrews et al. 1998), *Downhome: An Anthology of Southern Women Writers* (Mee 1995), *The Last Best Place: A Montana Anthology* (Kittredge and Smith 1998), and *The Maine Reader* (Shain and Shain 1990). We consulted Web sites of the state humanities councils to see which writers were featured. And we asked people from the state.[19]

THE PERSISTENCE OF PLACE

We began by asking if there still exists anything like a culture of place. Given the familiar pressures toward homogenization, even globalization, of culture, do readers have a "sense of place" that influences their literary knowledge and preferences?[20] Given our belief that a relationship between culture and place is not disappearing under the impact of globalization or world culture, we hypothesized that we would indeed find evidence of substantial literary regionalism. Using the nine census regions indicated

[19] Opportunism helped: For example when Griswold found herself standing in an airport line behind a couple from Boise, she asked them, "Pardon me, but can you tell me who are Idaho's best-known writers?" and they both replied, without hesitation, "You mean aside from Ernest Hemingway?" Hemingway exemplifies another characteristic of "strong association," which is that several states often "claim" the same writer. Using the methods just described, we find that Hemingway is an Illinois writer, a Florida writer, an Idaho writer—even Michigan. Zane Grey is claimed by several western states, though for Survey2000 he was a Utah writer, and there are other similar cases. The nature of the analysis required us to assign a writer to a single state; Hemingway is an Idaho writer, not an Illinois writer in Survey2000. This does not mean that Idaho's claim is somehow more valid, but it does mean that Idaho respondents were more likely to see his name. Hemingway and Grey are probably the most worrisome cases of assigning a writer with broad appeal to one particular state. Nevertheless, they are indeed strongly associated with their respective states, especially by the people who live in these states, as the airport incident illustrates. The Canadian authors were among the larger pool that could have shown up in the randomly selected authors. We have not done an analysis of the Canadian respondents.

[20] The term "sense of place" is ubiquitous in discussions of the relationship between region and cultural expression, so one editor winked and called his collection of essays about the Midwest *A Place of Sense* (Martone 1988).

on the map comprising figure 1, we looked to see which authors were among the 30 most widely recognized within each region. Table B1, appendix B, shows the authors most recognized by all respondents and by the respondents currently residing in each region.[21]

While there are plenty of writers whose appeal is nationwide, figure 1 and appendix B both suggest a distinct pattern of readers' favoring writers from or associated with their own regions. Mark Twain is universally popular, topping the list in all 11 regions. Some writers appeal chiefly in the East, like F. Scott Fitzgerald, while others, like James Michener, are primarily Western writers. In New England the number two author is Robert Frost, while in the Pacific region number two is John Steinbeck. No doubt schools play a role here, with Steinbeck appearing on more required reading lists in California than in New Hampshire. (Later in the "Dynamic Endurance" section we discuss the role schools play in instilling cultural regionalism.)

Consider the lineups for New England on the one hand and East South Central on the other. Twain, Frost, and Hemingway top both lists. Interestingly, Emily Dickinson seems higher in East South Central than in New England. Dickinson, a staple of the American canon, would be taught in high schools in both places (we considered her to be a "general" author rather than one specifically associated with Massachusetts, although clearly she is both). Education is not everything, however, for as the case of Michener suggests, we find regionalism with popular authors as well as with canonical ones. Stephen King and John Grisham are two hugely popular writers who would be unlikely to appear on any high school curriculum and who might be supposed to transcend any regional appeal. Notice, though, that Grisham does not even make the top 10 in New England, while he is several notches ahead of King in East South Central.

If we look at individual authors we similarly see literary regionalism. Take the example of Garrison Keillor, an author-entertainer who is well-known nationally through public radio broadcasting yet who is a regionalist in terms of the content of both his writing and his "Prairie Home Companion" radio program. The states indicated on the map in figure 2 gave him recognition scores of 1.6 or higher. This is Garrison Keillor country. Like Stephen King, Keillor is more locally specific in his appeal than one might have guessed.

The descriptive data so far suggest that readers do indeed have a "sense

[21] For these comparisons we are excluding Alaska and Hawaii. Hawaii produced flawed data because of a programming error. The Alaska data is sound and may be included in later analyses, but the relatively small *N* and the fact that it is the only case where a state and region are the same made us decide not to include it here.

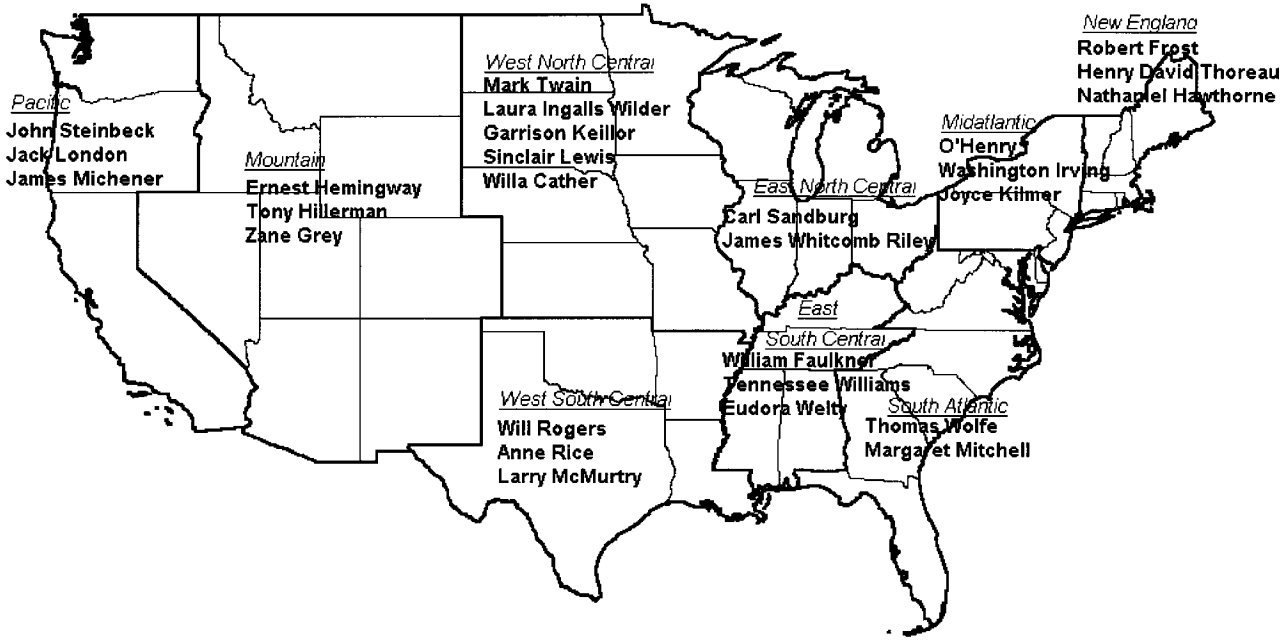

FIG. 1.—Top regional authors for each census region

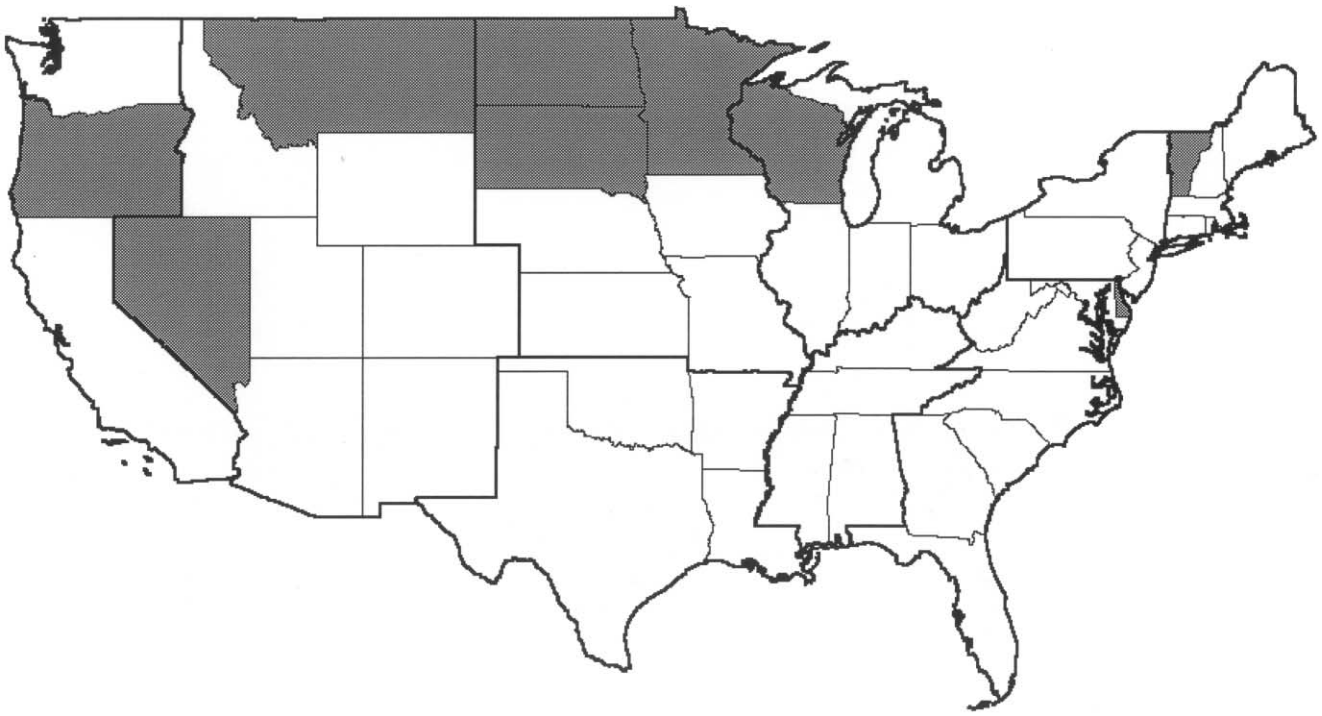

FIG. 2.—States with high recognition scores for Garrison Keillor

of place," in that they tend to favor authors from their own part of the country. Is this a case of old-timers holding on, maintaining their roots? To answer this we need to assess the relationship between mobility and regionalism. We want to look at the effects of mobility, the effects of regional variation, and the interactions between the two.

For purposes of quantitative analyses, the following dependent variables were constructed, three indicating overall knowledge of literature with the fourth one indicating knowledge of literature particular to region.

Average score for top 20 authors.—All 252 authors viewed were ranked according to their overall mean recognition score (on a scale of 0–3) among all respondents who viewed them. The top 20 of these we imagine to be the most well-known authors to respondents to this survey. This variable is the mean score for those of the top 20 authors viewed by each respondent.

Average score for all authors respondent viewed.—Each respondent viewed 28 authors in total, some associated with states they lived in at various points in their life and the rest from the list of 31 "General" authors not seen as regionally focused and randomly assigned from the total list of 252 authors (see details in note 18). This variable is the mean score for all 28 authors viewed by each respondent.

Average score for all general authors.—Each respondent was randomly assigned some authors from a list of 31 "General" authors who are generally well known but not typically tied to any one state. This variable is the mean score for those of the 31 General authors that were actually viewed by each respondent.

Average score for all authors from respondent's region.—Each respondent saw a number of authors from the region in which he or she currently lives. This variable is the mean score for those authors viewed who come from the respondent's current region of residence.

We will consider first the more general issue raised in our second question above, the relationship between mobility and familiarity with literature. Our hypothesis, following both globalization theory and the older distinction between provincials versus cosmopolitans, was that movers would be more culturally knowledgeable than stayers.

Table 2 shows some descriptive data comparing the author recognition scores of stayers and movers. (Note that our data here represent bivariate relationships that do not control for other factors; multivariate analyses will follow.) It suggests that there is something to the provincials/cosmopolitans distinction: people who move around know more about literature than people who do not. This is the case whether we are talking about the 20 most popular authors, the authors actually viewed, or those authors considered "general authors" who are not tightly linked to any one region. Table 2 shows that if we look at those respondents who have

TABLE 2
General Knowledge of Authors, Movers versus Stayers

	Mobility	
Authors	Stayers	Movers
Top 20 authors	1.9869	2.0307
	(.5872)	(.5625)
All 28 authors viewed ...	.6112	.6440
	(.3299)	(.3289)
31 general authors	1.0048	1.0439
	(.5246)	(.5326)

Note.—Respondents are Survey2000 participants with a bachelor's degree or more education. The numbers in parentheses are SDs.

a bachelor's degree or above, for example, we see that movers have slightly higher average scores than stayers in all three categories.[22] So it appears that movers know more about literature than stayers do, but these differences are slight (though statistically significant) and may not hold up when multivariate analyses are done.[23]

Despite what appears to be movers' greater literary knowledge overall, common sense seems to suggest that stayers would know more about their regional culture than movers do. If movers have more literary knowledge than stayers, could it be that cultural regionalism is not related to stability versus mobility? Assessing this counterintuitive possibility requires a more refined analysis, one that takes into account both the main effects of mobility and living in different regions and the interaction effects of moving into each specific region. In order to do this, additional dependent variables were used to measure knowledge of literature particular to each region.

Table 3 presents η^2 results for one-way analyses of variance (ANOVA) of the three overall literary knowledge dependent variables—knowledge

[22] We broke respondents into four educational categories: high school diploma or less, some college but no bachelor's degree, bachelor's degree only, or more than bachelor's degree. For each we looked at the scores given to the top 20 authors, the 28 authors actually viewed, and the general authors. In all 12 cases, the movers scored higher than the stayers.

[23] As we explained earlier, Survey2000 is not a random sample and thus we are technically unable to quantify statistical significance because we cannot rely on the claims of the central limit theorem. Nevertheless, we conducted traditional tests of statistical significance and present them at $P < .001$ level because we think many of our readers would like to know which of our differences meet these standards and which do not. As with all matters statistical, however, we ask our readers to pay attention to the substantive differences in our findings without making too much of statistical significance.

TABLE 3
η^2 RESULTS FOR ONE-WAY ANOVAS

	Average Score			
Respondents	Top 20 Authors	All Authors	All General Authors	Authors from Respondent's Region
Movers vs. stayers	.001*	.002*	.001*	.002*
Bachelor's vs. graduate degree	.009*	.018*	.009*	.010*
Knowledge of literature	.074*	.152*	.116*	.059*
Sex	.014*	.029*	.047*	.009*
Region of residence	.004*	.006*	.005*	.042*

NOTE.—Respondents are Survey2000 participants with a bachelor's degree or more education.
* $P < .001$.

of top 20 authors, of all authors seen, and of authors from the general authors list—and the average score for all authors from respondent's current region of residence. Results indicate proportion of explained variation in the dependent variable explained by key independent variables (without controlling for the other independent variables).

The table shows what we would expect for the three overall literary knowledge measures: respondents' education, self-reported literary knowledge, and gender each explain substantive amounts of variation.[24] As table 2 suggested, movers may know slightly more about literature overall than stayers, although the amount of explained variation is trivial. Similarly, there are some regional differences in overall knowledge of literature, but again the amount of explained variation is trivial.

Before turning to the right-hand column of table 3, we should look at the mover/stayer issue more closely. We have seen that movers know a bit more about literature than stayers. At every educational level, people who live in a different region from that of their birth know more authors than people who live in the region they were born in; this is the cosmopolitan effect. Common sense suggests, however, that this would not be true in the case of regional authors. It seems more likely that people who have stayed in some place are more deeply steeped in its local culture than people who have arrived more recently.

This deep-roots theory, believed by just about everyone, may be mistaken. Survey2000 stayers do indeed know more about authors from their *birth* regions than do movers, but the difference for knowledge about authors from their *current* region all but disappears.[25] And if we look at the level of state rather than region, movers seem largely to catch up with stayers.

Table 4 shows that stayers know almost as much about authors from the state they were born in or lived in at early ages as they do about

[24] The η^2 for education is small because these analyses are limited to those respondents with a bachelor's degree or more. Thus they test the difference between those with a bachelor's degree and those with a graduate degree. When all respondents are included, education explains roughly 4.5% of the variation in the three measures of overall literary knowledge and less than 3% of the variation in recognition of one's own region's authors.

[25] Movers had a recognition score of .6020 of authors from their birth region, while stayers had a score of .6342. The difference narrows when we look at recognition scores for current region, which is .6249 for movers, only slightly lower than the .6342 of the stayers. This fails to control for the overall popularity of each author seen by each respondent, however, and thus cannot be seen as definitive. We correct for this in the multivariate analyses below.

TABLE 4
MEAN STATE AUTHOR RECOGNITION SCORES FOR STAYERS AND MOVERS

RESPONDENT'S AGE	MOBILITY	
	Stayers	Movers
Birth	.7586	.6645
	(.6691)	(.6290)
Age 14	.7730	.7134
	(.6800)	(.6464)
Age 21	.7529	.7168
	(.6761)	(.6512)
Current	.7832	.7461
	(.6817)	(.6971)

NOTE.—Respondents are Survey2000 participants with a bachelor's degree or more education. The four time points under "age" indicate when respondent lived in the state he or she claimed. Numbers in parentheses are SDs.

authors from their current state.[26] This is hardly surprising, for they may be still living in the same state.[27] For movers, on the other hand, the birth state is (by definition) located in a different region from their state of current residence. While movers know considerably less about the literary culture of the state in which they were born than stayers do (.6645 vs. .7586), the knowledge gap narrows if we look at the state in which they now live (.7461 vs. .7832). In other words, movers are not much different from stayers, despite their lack of local roots.

Turning again to table 3, we see that the ANOVA results for regional literary knowledge are different from the results for the three overall literary knowledge variables. Though education, self-reported literary knowledge, and sex still explain substantive amounts of the variation in respondents' recognition of authors from their region of current residence, these variables are not as important as they were in explaining variation in recognition of authors overall. In contrast, the region in which a respondent currently lives explains over 4% of the variation in recognition of authors from the respondent's region. This indicates that though regional differences account for very little in explaining overall knowledge of literature, regional differences are very important in explaining knowledge of regional literature. Note also that the differences between movers

[26] Because state authors vary considerably with regard to how well known they are more broadly, this analysis should also not be seen as definitive but merely as suggesting that the deep-roots theory may not hold.

[27] For stayers, the birth state is within the same region as the state they currently live in, but it may or may not be the same state.

and stayers remain small and trivial when it comes to explaining variation in recognition of one's own regional authors. This also suggests that the deep-roots theory may be mistaken.

Yet not all regions are likely to be the same in terms of recognizing their own authors and in terms of movers catching up to stayers. Table 5 gives the mean recognition scores for each region's set of authors (and for all 28 authors viewed by each respondent) broken down by respondents living in each region. It seems to indicate four general patterns: (1) respondents living in a region seem to recognize their own authors more often than respondents living outside the region, (2) some regions seem to recognize their own authors better than others, (3) some regions' authors are more well known across the country than others are, and (4) some regions seem to know more about all literature than do others (We will return to this table below).

By itself, this table is incomplete and misleading in two ways. It fails to control for other factors and it fails to address the questions of mobility. For these reasons, multivariate regressions were done for each region's set of authors. The following independent variables are used as predictors of author recognition:

Popularity control.—Since each respondent saw a different set of authors, the popularity control averages together the mean scores for each author presented to the respondent that were given to each author by all respondents overall. For instance, if respondent "Jane" saw six authors from New England, the overall mean recognition scores for each of those six authors (as scored by all respondents who viewed them) are averaged together to create this control. This control functions as an expected familiarity level that each respondent should have with his or her set of authors viewed. Thus, the effects noted for the other independent variables are net of the overall popularity of each author from each region.

Sex.—This is dummy coded, with males as the omitted category.

Age.—This is measured in absolute number of years lived.

Education.—Since we limited our analyses to the college educated, this is a dummy variable for having a graduate degree, with those with a bachelor's degree as the omitted category.[28]

Average score for all general authors.—This is used as a proxy for respondent's general knowledge of literature, not specific to region.[29]

[28] All regressions were also done without limiting respondents to those with a bachelor's degree. This led to education's explaining much more variation in recognition of regional authors but did not substantively change any of the other findings at all.

[29] This measure does not overlap at all with the regional authors because authors were either assigned to a particular state or to the list of general authors, never to both. All regressions were also done using respondent's self-reported knowledge of literature and this did not alter any of the substantive findings at all.

TABLE 5
MEAN RECOGNITION SCORES FOR ALL AUTHORS

	AUTHOR										
RESPONDENT	New England	Middle Atlantic	East North Central	West North Central	South Atlantic	East South Central	West South Central	Mountain	Pacific	Alaska	All 28 Authors Viewed
New England	**.9392**	.5657	.5335	.7349	.4897	.6152	.5365	.4313	.5195	.1227	.6941
	(.5905)	(.6616)	(.6603)	(.8911)	(.6362)	(.8224)	(.6905)	(.6238)	(.7427)	(.3782)	(.3461)
Middle Atlantic	.6339	**.5818**	.5399	.7212	.4716	.5892	.5014	.3968	.5253	.1005	.6032
	(.7272)	**(.5366)**	(.6838)	(.8395)	(.5930)	(.8129)	(.6891)	(.5802)	(.7327)	(.3147)	(.3277)
East North Central ...	.6209	.4724	**.6006**	.7205	.4272	.5956	.4795	.3896	.4973	.0947	.5888
	(.7446)	(.6517)	**(.5299)**	(.8412)	(.5731)	(.8009)	(.6673)	(.6003)	(.7195)	(.3152)	(.3248)
West North Central ...	.6264	.4779	.4798	**1.0311**	.4283	.6046	.5563	.4312	.4896	.1024	.6187
	(.7367)	(.6991)	(.6068)	**(.7002)**	(.5755)	(.7487)	(.7211)	(.6231)	(.6811)	(.3294)	(.3167)
South Atlantic	.6278	.5490	.4989	.7028	**.6360**	.6086	.5462	.4099	.5455	.1113	.6300
	(.7301)	(.6748)	(.6289)	(.8330)	**(.5529)**	(.8042)	(.7218)	(.6232)	(.7336)	(.3664)	(.3256)
East South Central	.6176	.5810	.4821	.6842	.5534	**.6154**	.5762	.4195	.4815	.0854	.6111
	(.7219)	(.7061)	(.6004)	(.8218)	(.6076)	**(.7063)**	(.7537)	(.5804)	(.6611)	(.3221)	(.3541)
West South Central ...	.6301	.5463	.4868	.6877	.4547	.6381	**.7437**	.3891	.5458	.0858	.6152
	(.7237)	(.7297)	(.6441)	(.8053)	(.6179)	(.8259)	**(.5625)**	(.6001)	(.7458)	(.3037)	(.3412)
Mountain	.6594	.5369	.4949	.8013	.4407	.6134	.5760	**.6709**	.5706	.0922	.6362
	(.7827)	(.6983)	(.6215)	(.8823)	(.5951)	(.8118)	(.7000)	**(.5689)**	(.7173)	(.2841)	(.3388)
Pacific	.6274	.5216	.5030	.7777	.4819	.5849	.5560	.4737	**.7127**	.0912	.6362
	(.7274)	(.6811)	(.6381)	(.8877)	(.6098)	(.7918)	(.7099)	(.6315)	**(.6186)**	(.3244)	(.3308)
Alaska	.6000	.5810	.4264	.8366	.5401	.5500	.5798	.5789	.5401	**.6839**	.6596
	(.7010)	(.7098)	(.5768)	(.9145)	(.6520)	(.7825)	(.8289)	(.7003)	(.6277)	**(.8460)**	(.3243)
Overall	**.6530**	**.5360**	**.5189**	**.7566**	**.5036**	**.6030**	**.5624**	**.4457**	**.5720**	**.1283**	**.6245**
	(.7293)	**(.6642)**	**(.6218)**	**(.8458)**	**(.5945)**	**(.7963)**	**(.6944)**	**(.6140)**	**(.7037)**	**(.3937)**	**(.3321)**

NOTE.—Respondents are Survey2000 participants with a bachelor's degree or more education. Numbers in parentheses are SDs. Boldface numbers are those critical to the text's discussion.

Netters.—A dichotomous variable was created indicating persons who had used the Internet regularly for longer than two years at the time of taking the survey. Using the Internet for longer than two years prior to the time the survey was online would mean that it was being regularly used at a time when Internet service providers were not widely available in one's home. Thus, these respondents are considered to be early adopters of the Internet and likely to be knowledgeable and heavy Internet users. This variable is dummy coded with those who did not use the Internet for longer than two years prior to the survey as the omitted category.

Movers.—A dichotomous variable was created indicating respondents who at the time of the survey reported living in a region other than the region of their birth. These "movers" are opposed to "stayers," who reported currently living in the same region as the region of their birth. This variable is dummy coded with stayers as the omitted category.

Region of current residence.—This multichotomous variable refers to the region in which respondents reported that they were currently residing. It is zero-effect coded with Alaska as the omitted category. The zero-effect coding of this variable means that coefficients refer to differences relative to the mean of the means of all regions, not differences relative to Alaska.

Moving into region.—This is an interaction term for being a mover and living in the particular region of interest.

These regressions allow us to answer several important questions. Does region matter in terms of recognizing authors? If so, how? And what is the role of mobility? We hypothesize that respondents living in a region will recognize their own authors more than those living in other regions (the "regionalism" hypothesis). With regard to mobility, we can specify a few different hypotheses to be tested by these regressions. First, we hypothesize a cosmopolitan effect of moving in general. We suspect that movers will know more about authors in general, regardless of where they've moved from or where they've moved to, and regardless of what region the authors are identified with (the "cosmopolitan" hypothesis). Second, we can test competing hypotheses regarding the differences between movers and stayers within the region of interest. On the one hand is the "deep-roots" hypothesis, which states that movers may know more about authors in general than do stayers, but stayers will know more about their own region's authors than the movers into the region will. On the other hand, movers may catch up to stayers or even surpass them when it comes to knowledge of local regional authors. In this way, movers act like cowbirds, parasitic birds that invade the nests of other birds and make themselves at home there (thus, this is the "cowbirds" hypothesis).

Table 6 reports regression coefficients for regressions of each of the regional dependent variables, namely each respondent's mean recognition score for authors associated with each of the census regions (as well as

the mean recognition score for all 28 authors viewed by each respondent). Also reported in table 6 is the amount of variation explained by all the variables together.

In terms of the variables usually associated with reading, table 6 shows few surprises. General knowledge of literature is strongly positively associated with regional literary knowledge. Having a graduate degree and being female generally increases literary knowledge, though many of these differences are trivial.[30] And older adults know consistently more than younger ones. More surprisingly, our data generally show a small but positive association between familiarity with the Internet ("Netters") and knowledge of regional authors.

The most striking finding in table 6 is that respondents who live in any region definitively recognize the authors from that region significantly more than respondents who live outside the region. The regionalism hypothesis is strongly supported.

Disentangling the mobility hypotheses are a bit more difficult because it necessitates taking into account both the interaction and additive coefficients. The additive regression coefficient for the "Movers" variable refers to the difference between movers and stayers who do not live in the region of interest. Thus, it is a good test of the cosmopolitan hypothesis. Movers who do not live in the region do generally know more than stayers who do not live in the region. Though these differences are small, they do support the cosmopolitan hypotheses.

Assessing the deep-roots and cowbirds hypotheses (which can be seen as on a continuum depending on the gradient of how much movers into a region catch up to those who were born there and live there currently) is achieved by adding the "Movers" additive coefficient to the "Moving into Region" interaction coefficient (e.g., respondents who moved into New England have average recognition scores for New England authors that are .05731 lower than those born there who still live there; movers into the mid-Atlantic region are .01612 higher than stayers, etc.). This yields three different groups of regions, different from each other only by gradient of the difference between movers and stayers who both live in the region currently. (1) In the Middle Atlantic, East North Central, and Pacific regions, there are virtually no differences between movers and stayers who live in those regions when it comes to recognizing authors

[30] Though many of these educational effects are small and trivial, when these regressions were done without limiting respondents to the college-educated, education was a very strong positive predictor, though usually not as strong as was living in the region.

TABLE 6

UNSTANDARDIZED REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS FOR RECOGNITION SCORES FOR ALL AUTHORS ASSOCIATED WITH EACH REGION WHERE RESPONDENT LIVES CURRENTLY

	New England	Middle Atlantic	East North Central	West North Central	South Atlantic	East South Central	West South Central	Mountain	Pacific	Alaska	All 28 Authors Viewed
Constant	−.52200	−.51800	−.74000	−.50400	−.71700	−.59500	−.47700	−.46700	−.76600	−.25200	−.36100
Popularity control	1.04300	1.06500	1.04300	1.06200	1.07100	1.10200	.99800	1.01400	1.02200	1.32200	.65500
	(.666)*	(.649)*	(.439)*	(.766)*	(.498)*	(.710)*	(.535)*	(.578)*	(.575)*	(.069)	(.190)*
Sex	.03508	.01430	.03694	.08850	.06167	.01857	.02259	.01203	−.01265	−.03444	−.02677
	(.024)	(.011)	(.030)*	(.052)*	(.052)*	(.012)	(.016)	(.010)	(−.009)	(−.044)	(−.041)*
Age	.00252	.00375	.00622	.00257	.00571	.00354	.00218	.00380	.00765	.00176	.00313
	(.043)*	(.070)*	(.125)*	(.038)*	(.118)*	(.055)*	(.039)*	(.076)*	(.134)*	(.055)	(.117)*
Graduate degree	.01486	.03465	.04153	.04278	.03755	.03285	.01912	.01798	.03661	−.01061	.02651
	(.010)	(.026)*	(.033)*	(.025)*	(.031)*	(.054)	(.014)	(.014)	(.025)	(−.013)	(.040)*
General author knowledge	.35800	.31500	.39800	.29400	.37700	.37400	.36900	.28000	.39900	.15400	.44100
	(.260)*	(.250)*	(.340)*	(.183)*	(.334)*	(.249)*	(.283)*	(.242)*	(.196)*	(.211)*	(.707)*
Netters	.03443	.02602	.04307	.02762	.03475	.01396	−.00516	.02590	.02861	.01151	.02306
	(.022)	(.018)	(.033)*	(.015)	(.027)*	(.008)	(−.004)	(.020)	(.019)	(.014)	(.033)*
Movers	**.01293**	**.00281**	**.03097**	**.03280**	**.01936**	**.02086**	**.00579**	**.01632**	**.01937**	**−.00751**	**.00155**
	(.009)	**(.002)**	**(.025)**	**(.019)**	**(.016)**	**(.013)**	**(.004)**	**(.013)**	**(.014)**	**(−.010)**	**(.002)**

Moving into region	**−.07024**	**.01331**	**−.05092**	**−.12200**	**−.12900**	**−.12700**	**−.13400**	**−.14300**	**−.03804**	. . .	. . .
	(−.020)	**(.004)**	**(−.020)**	**(−.029)**	**(−.080)***	**(−.034)**	**(−.050)***	**(−.064)***	**(−.019)**		
New England	**.18200**	−.01147	.02225	−.01461	−.03349	−.01279	−.06880	−.03566	−.03858	−.04494	.01061
	(.071)*	(−.005)	(.009)	(−.004)	(−.015)	(−.004)	(−.026)	(−.015)	(−.014)	(−.038)	(.009)
Middle Atlantic	−.00698	**.06941**	.03411	−.03550	−.00962	−.00676	−.08116	−.05993	−.00626	−.05493	−.02628
	(−.003)	**(.038)***	(.018)	(.013)	(.005)	(−.003)	(−.038)*	(−.032)*	(−.003)	(−.056)	(−.026)*
East North Central	−.01215	−.04875	**.14900**	.00072	−.04092	.00586	−.06443	−.04463	−.00915	−.06091	−.01857
	(−.006)	(−.027)	**(.094)***	(.000)	(−.025)	(.003)	(−.034)*	(−.027)	(−.005)	(−.067)	(−.021)*
West North Central	−.01812	−.05180	.00760	**.22600**	−.03121	−.01742	−.01313	−.02971	−.02783	−.03358	−.01039
	(−.007)	(−.020)	(.003)	**(.077)***	(−.014)	(−.006)	(−.005)	(−.013)	(−.010)	(−.029)	(−.008)
South Atlantic	−.03411	.02276	−.01544	−.04316	**.20100**	.00841	−.02896	−.06180	−.00686	−.05511	−.01102
	(−.020)	(.014)	(−.010)	(−.021)	**(.146)***	(.004)	(−.018)	(−.042)*	(−.004)	(−.065)	(−.014)
East South Central	.00257	.03858	−.02682	−.04624	.07198	**.22500**	.02506	−.03568	−.02766	−.06206	.00249
	(.001)	(.013)	(−.010)	(−.012)	(.027)	**(.076)***	(.008)	(−.013)	(−.009)	(−.048)	(.002)
West South Central	.00509	.01250	−.03855	−.03297	−.00262	.03143	**.30200**	−.05042	−.00590	−.06578	.00776
	(.002)	(.005)	(−.002)	(−.011)	(−.001)	(.012)	**(.148)***	(−.024)	(−.002)	(−.058)	(.007)
Mountain	.00279	−.01549	−.01503	.00711	−.03203	.00043	.02477	**.33200**	−.01136	−.06682	.01854
	(.001)	(−.007)	(−.007)	(.003)	(−.016)	(.000)	(.011)	**(.170)***	(−.005)	(−.060)	(.017)
Pacific	−.03411	−.02110	−.03088	.00444	−.01302	−.05552	−.01559	.01403	**.14900**	−.07231	−.00830
	(−.019)	(−.012)	(−.020)	(.002)	(−.009)	(−.027)	(−.009)	(.009)	**(.092)***	(−.087)*	(−.010)
R^2	.535	.494	.346	.639	.416	.569	.387	.417	.460	.150	.637
N of cases	9,800	8,609	9,855	8,471	10,701	7,058	8,078	10,106	8,644	1,747	11,791

NOTE.—Respondents are Survey2000 participants with a bachelor's degree or more education. Numbers in parentheses are standardized regression coefficients. Boldface numbers are those critical to the text's discussion.

* $P < .001$.

associated with those regions.[31] These are clear "cowbirds" regions. Movers catch up to stayers or surpass them. (2) Movers into New England and West North Central lag slightly behind those born there in recognizing their regional authors, though these differences are still not statistically significant.[32] These are cowbirds regions where the movers nearly catch up to stayers. (3) The three southern regions (South Atlantic, East South Central, and West South Central) and Mountain fall somewhere between cowbirds and deep-roots theories. Movers into these regions lag behind those born there and still living there in their recognition of their regional authors,[33] yet movers into these regions still recognize their regional authors significantly better than both movers and stayers who live outside their region.

In sum, table 6 confirms strongly and definitively that living in the region matters considerably. People are much more likely to recognize authors from a region if they live there, and this is the case for all nine regions. Regional culture endures. Moving in general seems to enhance the likelihood of knowing all authors slightly. We take this to support the cosmopolitan effect: movers know more about all authors, even regionalists. For any specific region, people born there initially know more about the local authors than newcomers do. This is hardly surprising; the surprise is that in five out of nine regions, the newcomers catch up completely or almost completely, and in the remaining four regions they are not too far behind. Deep roots matter, but people are cultural cowbirds as well.

COSMOPOLITANS AND COWBIRDS

Movers usually know about as much about the literature of the region they currently live in as the people who have always lived there do. There are two likely explanations for this. One is that movers are cosmopolitans, people whose travels have made them more knowledgeable about everything. The second is that movers are cowbirds, people who come in and absorb the cultural characteristics of their new homes, just as cowbirds infiltrate and thrive in the nests made by other birds. These two possibilities are not mutually exclusive.

Movers as a whole do seem to be cosmopolitans. They are somewhat

[31] Mid-Atlantic movers are .01612 points higher. East North Central movers are .01995 points lower. Pacific movers are .01867 points lower.

[32] New England movers are .05731 points lower. West North Central movers are .0892 points lower.

[33] South Atlantic movers are .10964 points lower. East South Central movers are .10614 points lower. West South Central movers are .12821 points lower. Mountain movers are .12668 points lower.

more educated than stayers.[34] Even holding education constant, they seem to pick up cultural savvy with each move. As table 4 shows, stayers do not show any pattern of cultural acquisition, while movers seem to acquire more knowledge of their local literatures as they age. They are exposed to more cultural influences, in other words, and some of them stick. At the same time, the cosmopolitanism of movers is rather weak and very general, so it cannot explain the variation between particular regions and states.

In some cases movers act like cultural cowbirds as well. They move right into the new nest, make themselves at home, and flourish on the cultural nourishment surrounding them in that place. Developing a local literary knowledge, they catch up with the stayers. At the regional level, as we saw in table 6, this happens in five out of nine regions.

The cowbird effect can operate at the state level as well. Consider Maine, which has an unusually strong literary culture (Griswold and Engelstad 1998). Movers currently living in Maine have roughly the same knowledge of regional (New England) authors as stayers.[35] But when we look at their knowledge of Maine authors, as shown in table 7, we see that movers know as much about the state's authors as native Mainers do.[36] And this does not seem to be just because these movers are cosmopolitans; they do not know much about the authors from their birth states and they know less about the authors from where they lived in their youth then they do about the authors from Maine, where they live now. In other words, they have operated as cultural cowbirds, moving into a new cultural region and developing a knowledge of the local literary world that equals that of the lifelong residents.

The case of Maine raises the possibility that in some states, just as in some regions, newcomers make themselves at home culturally by catching up with natives' knowledge of the local writers. Migrating birds, in other words, act like cowbirds. A state-by-state comparison of state-level stayers' and movers' recognition scores bears this out. Slight differences between the recognition scores, lack of proper controls, and in some cases small numbers of cases caution one from drawing conclusions about in-

[34] The mean education score for movers was 5.60 ($N = 10{,}074$), while for stayers it was 5.00 ($N = 11{,}215$).

[35] Of current Maine residents with a bachelor's degree or higher, movers have a New England authors recognition score of .9917, while the score for stayers is 1.0713.

[36] Recall that "stayer" and "mover" refer to region, not state, so the numbers change even for the stayers since some stayers have moved to different states in their home regions. For both movers and stayers we see a dip at age 21. We suspect that this results from people who reside in a state during college years (e.g., in the case of a regional stayer, the student from Massachusetts who attends Bowdoin College in Maine) but do not absorb the state's local literary culture.

TABLE 7
AVERAGE STATE AUTHOR RECOGNITION SCORES FOR STAYERS AND MOVERS CURRENTLY LIVING IN MAINE

RESPONDENT'S AGE	MOBILITY	
	Stayers	Movers
Birth	1.1158	.6690
	(.5415)	(.6340)
Age 14	1.0103	.8938
	(.5372)	(.5773)
Age 21	.9113	.8922
	(.6148)	(.6409)
Current	1.1486	1.1389
	(.6825)	(.6137)

NOTE.—Respondents are Survey2000 participants with a bachelor's degree or more education. The four time points under "age" indicate when respondent lived in the state he or she claimed. Numbers in parentheses are SDs.

dividual states, but we can say this: In most regions (New England, Mid-Atlantic, East North Central, West North Central, South Atlantic, Pacific and Alaska) around half of the states have educated movers who know more about the state's authors than educated stayers do. Movers are not just catching up with stayers but may even be passing them. The exceptions are West South Central, Mountain, and East South Central, where the movers don't seem as inclined to catch up.

How do the different regions compare with one another in terms of their literary cultures? If movers are cosmopolitans, when do they go further and become literary cowbirds, culturally at home and as local as the locals, and where does this fail to happen? We are going to look at this on a regional basis, comparing the regions in terms of their movers' and stayers' knowledge of regional authors.

In order to compare regions, we must first take account of the fact that some regions have produced better-known authors than others. Recall the large number of New England authors on the top 10 lists. So pulling together what we learned from tables 5 and 6, we have examined the regions to see (1) how widely recognized their authors are and (2) how recognized they are by the residents of the region in question.

The data from table 5 suggest that West North Central and New England are the regions with the best-known authors, and in both of these cases the residents know their authors extremely well. The next tier of regions, whose authors are fairly well known, includes East South Central, West South Central, and Pacific. The latter two of these follow the pattern of West North Central and New England: the residents know their authors

considerably better than nonresidents do. East South Central appears anomalous in table 5, for the residents seem to know their region's authors not more but actually less than nonresidents do. This is corrected in table 6 where the addition of the popularity control reveals that East South Central residents do in fact know their region's authors better than nonresidents.[37] The third tier—Middle Atlantic, East North Central, South Atlantic, and Mountain—includes those regions whose authors are least well known overall.[38] Despite their relative obscurity, however, the regions' residents know them considerably better than outsiders do.

DYNAMIC ENDURANCE

Literary regionalism is alive and well. Indeed, residential mobility, one of the dynamic processes that has been thought to erode regionalism, may actually be strengthening it. Many institutions—including libraries, festivals, state humanities councils, local author associations, state "Centers for the Book," but especially schools—function to reproduce the association between literature and a particular place.

Some insight about how literary regionalism reproduces comes from looking at young people. Children learn the connection between place and literature at school. All states require that their students be taught their state's history in either late primary school or middle school, and teachers will frequently pursue "language arts" and history objectives in tandem. For example, according to the Arizona Department of Education's social studies standards, fourth- and fifth-grade students focus on Arizona and are expected to

> describe the economic, social, and political life in the Arizona Territory and the legacy of various cultural groups to modern Arizona, with emphasis on: how Arizona became a part of the United States through the Mexican Cession and the Gadsden Purchase; the conflict of cultures that occurred between newcomers and Arizona Indian groups, including the Indian Wars; the lives and contributions of various cultural and ethnic groups, including American Indians, Hispanics, and newcomers from the United States and other parts of the world; the importance and contributions of various oc-

[37] Recall that not all respondents saw the same set of authors from each region, and living in the region makes one inclined to see more authors from that region. What happened with East South Central was that nonresidents saw fewer East South Central authors and thus the impact of some of their more well-known authors (such as William Faulkner and Tennessee Williams) inflated their averages. East South Central residents who saw many more authors from this region did not have the benefit of such inflation. This problem is corrected in the multivariate regressions in table 6 through the "Popularity Control" variable.

[38] Alaska is even lower, although we are not including it in the comparisons.

> cupations to the growing Arizona communities, including soldiers (Buffalo soldiers), miners, merchants, freighters, homemakers, ranchers, cowboys, farmers, and railroad workers.[39]

The emphasis on southwest history continues in the middle and high school standards, which stipulate a more complex understanding of the western expansion and (among other things) its impact on Native Americans.

The Arizona Department of Education does not select the actual books; states almost never mandate particular titles, which are chosen by districts or individual teachers. Since certain works of fiction reinforce history lessons while achieving reading goals as well, however, Arizona teachers or districts often will select a book like Scott O'Dell's *Sing Down the Moon* (1970). This children's classic tells of the 1860 relocation of the Navajo from Canyon de Chelly in Arizona to Fort Sumner in New Mexico as seen through the eyes of a 14-year-old girl. *Sing Down the Moon* was a New York Times Outstanding Book of the Year, is available in multiple editions, and appeals to diversity-minded educators. Furthermore, it is featured in a resource book put out by Scholastic for middle school teachers, *35 Best Books for Teaching U.S. Regions: Using Fiction to Help Students Explore the Geography, History, and Cultures of the Seven U.S. Regions—and Link Literature to Social Studies* (Buzzeo and Kurtz 2002). As the subtitle suggests, many teachers and school districts, making independent choices, do chose and use fiction in this way. Younger students may find *G Is for Grand Canyon: An Arizona Alphabet* (Gowan and Larson 2002) in their classrooms, while high school English teachers and librarians may steer them to Barbara Kingsolver's *The Bean Trees* or to *Named in Stone and Sky: An Arizona Anthology* (McNamee 1993).[40] The Arizona example demonstrates one way that students learn to associate their state or region with works of literature.

But does such instruction actually take hold? A separate module of Survey 2000 was given to children, ages 12–16. Children saw a list of 10 books. Unlike in the adult survey, they all saw the same list, and they saw titles, not authors. They indicated whether or not they had heard of or read each of the titles. Thus we have recognition scores comparable to those of the adult respondents.

Of the 10 books, we considered five to be clearly and unambiguously regional in that they were set in and emphasized the way of life in a particular region. These were Esther Forbes's *Johnny Tremain* (Massa-

[39] Arizona Department of Education. Social Studies Standards. "Standard 1: History." Taken from http://www.ade.state.az.us/standards/sstudies/standard.1.asp.

[40] *G Is for Grand Canyon* (Gowan and Larson 2002) is part of the "Alphabet Series" available for many states.

chusetts, New England), Laura Ingalls Wilder's *Little House on the Prairie* (Kansas, West North Central), Scott O'Dell's *Carlotta* (California, Pacific), Gary Paulsen's *Canyons* (New Mexico, Mountain), and Harper Lee's *To Kill a Mockingbird* (Alabama, East South Central).[41] We looked to see which regions had the highest recognition scores for each book, hypothesizing that no matter how well known the book was overall, regional books would be especially well known in their home regions.

This hypothesis—youth from a particular region knowing the children's classics of their region especially well—was borne out in four out of the five cases. As table 8 shows, young people do seem to be absorbing the regional literature appropriate to their age. The exception was *To Kill a Mockingbird*, which is read more by our West Coast respondents than by those from its home region of the East South Central (its author, Harper Lee, was from Alabama and the story takes place there). And while the second place in recognition did go to East South Central, the adjacent southern region (West South Central) was dead last. While fragmentary, this evidence together with the data on movers suggests the possibility that the new southerners of the New South—those who are moving there and those who have been born there in recent years—may not be the regionalists that their predecessors and parents have been. But outsiders (Californians) know southern writers, and teach their children.

Overall, it seems clear that regional culture endures in America, despite mobility, despite homogenization, despite electronic media, despite swatches of sprawl, despite globalization, and despite the peculiarities of each region. It is being reproduced internally, as regions indoctrinate newcomers into the local literary traditions; this is just what localization theory would predict. It is also being reproduced externally, as in the cases of the paradoxical regionalism where outsiders know the regional writers almost as well as the insiders do.

Can such regionalism be considered authentic? Cultural history, like all history, is as much a matter of what to forget as of what to remember, so there is no question that today's regionalism is selective (Lowenthal 1985). In this respect it is indeed a hybrid, produced and reproduced by cowbirds as well as by locals, although we suspect that something like this has always been the case. It is also a product of movement, a result

[41] A sixth, *Huckleberry Finn*, might also be associated with West North Central because of Twain, although we doubted if this would be much of a factor, since much of the story takes place outside of that region, in fact in the South. As it happens, *Huckleberry Finn* has its highest recognition rate in the Pacific region. *Ramona the Pest* takes place in the Pacific Northwest, but this is a minor theme and we did not expect much regional variation; nor did we expect much from *Catcher in the Rye*, which takes place around New York. We also had two series, *Goosebumps* and *American Girl*, which take place all over and thus are not associated with particular places.

TABLE 8
Recognition of Children's Books, by Readers' Region

	Little House on the Prairie	*Johnny Tremain*	*Carlotta*	*Canyons*	*To Kill a Mockingbird*
New England	1.41	.77*	.32	.41	.91
Middle Atlantic	1.29	.48	.27	.32	.81
East North Central	1.35	.41	.25	.39	.84
West North Central	1.44*	.64	.28	.43	.81
South Atlantic	1.31	.57	.28	.36	.91
East South Central	1.39	.74	.19	.35	.95
West South Central	1.33	.42	.28	.42	.77
Mountain	1.38	.55	.32	.44*	.89
Pacific	1.41	.64	.36*	.43	1.03*

* Highest recognition score for title.

of dynamic rather than static populations. People moving into an area do not live out of their suitcases, culturally speaking. In most cases they settle in, they make themselves at home, they become regionalists. Being a knowledgeable local is not at the opposite pole from being a cosmopolitan, as the old dichotomy had it. Instead, attaining local cultural knowledge is one of the ways people demonstrate their cosmopolitanism.

In this sense we might say that regionalism itself is a requirement for and consequence of participating in world culture. Identities are more a matter of choice than they traditionally were, but that does not mean they are any less important.[42] For some, regionalism is a matter of habit, for others a matter of conviction. Just as people may decide to celebrate their ethnicity or their national background, many choose to celebrate their place, be it ancestral or new. The practices guided by such implicit decisions and such habits—practices including what books to buy, to read, to teach, to talk about, to remember—are the ongoing and dynamic processes that maintain and recreate enduring regional cultures.

[42] Sociologists have drawn increasing attention to ethnic identities as matters of individual or group choice; see, e.g., Waters (1990) and Patterson (1979).

APPENDIX A

Authors from Survey2000

TABLE A1
WELL-KNOWN AMERICAN WRITERS NOT ASSOCIATED WITH A SPECIFIC STATE

General Authors		
James Baldwin	John Grisham	Joyce Carol Oates
Russell Banks	Robert Heinlein	Marge Piercy
Mary Higgins Clark	John Irving	Annie Proulx
Stephen Crane	Jan Karon	Anna Quindlan
Pat Conroy	Jack Kerouac	Nora Roberts
Robertson Davies	Stephen King	Anne Rivers Siddons
Emily Dickinson	Dean Koontz	Danielle Steel
Joy Fielding	Louis L'Amour	Alice Walker
F. Scott Fitzgerald	Herman Melville	Edith Wharton
Allen Ginsberg	Frank Norris	Richard Wright

NOTE.—Some of these writers are associated with a large region—e.g., Louis L'Amour and "the West." Some do in fact write about a certain territory—e.g., John Grisham sets most of his legal thrillers in Memphis or Mississippi, and Stephen King sets many of his works in Maine. They are on this list either because they are not strongly associated with any one state or because their fame or popularity is such that we expected that their state association was probably irrelevant.

TABLE A2

AUTHORS ASSOCIATED WITH STATES, BY REGION

Region	Authors
New England:	
Maine	Sarah Orne Jewett, Edna St. Vincent Millay, Edwin Arlington Robinson, Tim Sample, R. P. T. Coffin
New Hampshire	Alice Brown, Celia Thaxter, Robert Frost
Vermont	Rowland Evans Robinson, Robert Newton Peck
Massachusetts	Nathaniel Hawthorne, Henry David Thoreau, Henry Adams, Robert B. Parker, Anne Bradstreet
Rhode Island	A. J. Liebling, Roger Williams, Avi, H. P. Lovecraft
Connecticut	Wallace Stevens, Rose Terry Cooke
Mid-Atlantic:	
New York	Washington Irving, Jay McInerney, Richard Russo, Philander Deming, Tama Janowitz, O. Henry, Brander Matthews, H. C. Bunner, Harold Frederic
New Jersey	Joyce Kilmer, William Carlos Williams
Pennsylvania	John Edgar Wideman, K. C. Constantine, Charles Brockden Brown
East North Central:	
Ohio	Sherwood Anderson, Toni Morrison, Mary Hartwell Catherwood, Constance Fenimore Woolson
Indiana	Booth Tarkinton, Edward Eggleston, James Whitcomb Riley
Illinois	Carl Sandberg, William Maxwell, Sara Paretsky, Edgar Lee Masters, Joseph Kirkland, David Mamet, John Hay, Gwendolyn Brooks
Michigan	Elmore Leonard, Charles Baxter
Wisconsin	Hamlin Garland, Zona Gale
West North Central:	
Minnesota	Garrison Keillor, Sinclair Lewis
Iowa	Jane Smiley, Bess Streeter Aldrich
Missouri	Mark Twain, Richard E. Brown,
North Dakota	Era Bell Thompson, Larry Woiwode
South Dakota	Frederick Manfred, Ole Rolvaag, Laura Ingalls Wilder
Nebraska	Willa Cather, Wright Morris
Kansas	Ed (E. W.) Howe, Hendle Rumbaut
South Atlantic:	
Delaware	Frank Dale, Jennifer Ackerman, David J. Seibold
Maryland	John Barth, H. L. Mencken, Anne Tyler
District of Columbia	Ward Just, Margaret Truman, Marcella Comes Winslow
Virginia	Thomas Nelson Page, John Pendleton Kennedy
West Virginia	Mary Lee Settle, Denise Giardina
North Carolina	Charles W. Chesnutt, Jim McCorkle, Thomas Wolfe
South Carolina	Blanche McCrary Boyd, Dorothy Allison
Georgia	Flannery O'Connor, Joel Chandler Harris, Margaret Mitchell, Carson McCullers
Florida	Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings, John D. MacDonald, Zora Neale Hurston, Bob Shacochis
East South Central:	
Kentucky	Robert Penn Warren, Wendell Berry, John Fox, Jr.
Tennessee	John Crowe Ransom, Allen Tate, Mary N. Murfree (pseud. Charles Egbert Craddock)
Alabama	Mary Ward Brown, Julia Fields
Mississippi	William Faulkner, Tennessee Williams, Eudora Welty
West South Central:	
Arkansas	Henry Dumas, Joan Hess
Louisiana	Kate Chopin, George Washington Cable, Anne Rice
Oklahoma	Will Rogers, Rilla Askew

Texas	Larry McMurtry, Molly Ivins, Cormac McCarthy, Benjamin Franklin Capps, Frank Kea, L. Frank Dobie
Mountain:	
Montana	Peter Bowen, Norman Maclean, Ivan Doig, A. B. Guthrie, Jr.
Idaho	Ernest Hemingway, James H. Maguire
Wyoming	Gretel Erlich, Mary O'Hara, Ron Franscell
Colorado	Helen Hunt Jackson, Gene Amole, Sanora Babb
New Mexico	Tony Hillerman, S. Omar Barker, Mary Austin, Leslie Marmon Silko
Arizona	Alfred Henry Lewis, Barbara Kingsolver
Utah	Edward Abbey, Zane Grey, Bernard De Voto, Terry Templeton Williams
Nevada	Walter Van Tilburg Clark
Pacific:	
Washington	Earl Emerson, David Guterson
Oregon	Francis Parkman, Jr., Don Berry, Elizabeth Woody
California	Wallace Stegner, John Steinbeck, Jack London, Ernest J. Finney, Ross MacDonald, Bret Harte, Raymond Chandler, Armistad Maupin, Joaquin Miller
Alaska	Robert W. Service, John Haines, Rex Beach
Hawaii	Joseph Joel Keith, James Michener, Cathy Song

TABLE A3

CANADIAN AUTHORS ASSOCIATED WITH SPECIFIC PROVINCES

Region	Author
Alberta (Prairie)	Robert Kroetsch, Rosemary Aubert, Joan Clark, W. P. Kinsella
British Columbia	Jack Hodgins, Ethel Wilson, Sheila Watson, Emily Carr, Daphne Marlatt, George Bowering, Sky Lee
Manitoba	Margaret Laurence, F. P. Grove, Martha Ostenso, Adele Wiseman, Ernest Thompson Seton, W. D. Valgardson, Dorothy Livesay
New Brunswick (Maritimes)	David Adams Richards, Charles G. D. Roberts, Bliss Carman, Alden Nowlan
Newfoundland (Maritimes)	David MacFarlane, E. J. Pratt, Farley Mowat, Percy Janes, Margaret Duley
Northwest Territories	Alison Gordon
Nova Scotia (Maritimes)	Ernest Buckler, Hugh MacLennan, Alistair MacLeod, Thomas Raddall, Sheldon Currie
Ontario	Margaret Atwood, Michael Ondaatje, Russell Smith, Jane Urquhart, Al Purdy, Patrick Slater, James Reaney, Morley Torgov, Eric Wright, Marian Engel, Medora Sale, Ted Wood, Fred Bodworth
Prince Edward Islands (Maritimes)	Lucy Maude Montgomery, Milton Acorn
Quebec (writers in English)	Mordecai Richler, Carol Epstein, A. M. Klein, F. R. Scott, Gwethalyn Graham
Saskatchewan (Prairie)	W. O. Mitchell, Rudy Wiebe, Lorna Crozier, Guy Vanderhaeghe, Sinclair Ross, Fred Wah, John Newlove
Yukon Territory	Jack London, Robert Service, Pierre Breton

NOTE.—We are grateful to Russell Brown and Bonnie Erickson, at the University of Toronto, for their help in compiling these lists.

APPENDIX B

Most Popular Authors

TABLE B1
MOST POPULAR AUTHORS OVERALL AND IN NINE REGIONS (Top 15 in Each Category)

Overall	New England	Mid-Atlantic	East North Central	West North Central
Mark Twain	Mark Twain	Mark Twain	Mark Twain	Mark Twain
Ernest Hemingway	Robert Frost	Ernest Hemingway	Ernest Hemingway	Ernest Hemingway
John Steinbeck	Ernest Hemingway	Robert Frost	Robert Frost	Robert Frost
Robert Frost	John Steinbeck	John Steinbeck	John Steinbeck	Laura Ingalls Wilder
Emily Dickinson	Henry David Thoreau	Emily Dickinson	Emily Dickinson	John Steinbeck
Stephen King	Nathaniel Hawthorne	F. Scott Fitzgerald	Stephen King	Stephen King
Henry David Thoreau	Emily Dickinson	Nathaniel Hawthorne	Nathaniel Hawthorne	Emily Dickinson
Nathaniel Hawthorne	Stephen King	Stephen King	Henry David Thoreau	F. Scott Fitzgerald
Jack London	F. Scott Fitzgerald	Henry David Thoreau	F. Scott Fitzgerald	Henry David Thoreau
F. Scott Fitzgerald	Jack London	Jack London	John Grisham	Jack London
John Grisham	John Grisham	William Faulkner	Jack London	John Grisham
William Faulkner	William Faulkner	John Grisham	Carl Sandburg	Nathaniel Hawthorne
Tennessee Williams	Herman Melville	Tennessee Williams	William Faulkner	Garrison Keillor
James Michener	Tennessee Williams	O. Henry	Tennessee Williams	Sinclair Lewis
Laura Ingalls Wilder	Washington Irving	Washington Irving	Laura Ingalls Wilder	James Michener

South Atlantic	East South Central	West South Central	Mountain	Pacific
Mark Twain	Mark Twain	Mark Twain	Mark Twain	Mark Twain
Ernest Hemingway	Robert Frost	Ernest Hemingway	John Steinbeck	John Steinbeck
Robert Frost	Ernest Hemingway	Emily Dickinson	Ernest Hemingway	Ernest Hemingway
John Steinbeck	Emily Dickinson	John Steinbeck	Robert Frost	Robert Frost
Emily Dickinson	John Steinbeck	Robert Frost	Jack London	Jack London
Stephen King	William Faulkner	Stephen King	Stephen King	Emily Dickinson
John Grisham	John Grisham	Nathaniel Hawthorne	Emily Dickinson	John Grisham
F. Scott Fitzgerald	Tennessee Williams	William Faulkner	Henry David Thoreau	Henry David Thoreau
Henry David Thoreau	Stephen King	John Grisham	James Michener	Stephen King
Nathaniel Hawthorne	F. Scott Fitzgerald	Jack London	John Grisham	James Michener
Jack London	Henry David Thoreau	F. Scott Fitzgerald	F. Scott Fitzgerald	F. Scott Fitzgerald
William Faulkner	Nathaniel Hawthorne	Tennessee Williams	Laura Ingalls Wilder	Nathaniel Hawthorne
Tennessee Williams	Jack London	Henry David Thoreau	Nathaniel Hawthorne	William Faulkner
Herman Melville	Carl Sandburg	Will Rogers	William Faulkner	Herman Melville
Carl Sandburg	O. Henry	James Michener	Tennessee Williams	Laura Ingalls Wilder

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